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THE HEAD OF A YOUTHFUL HERACLES FROM SPARTA

While investigating types of Victor Statues, my attention has been drawn to the marble head of a youthful Heracles said to

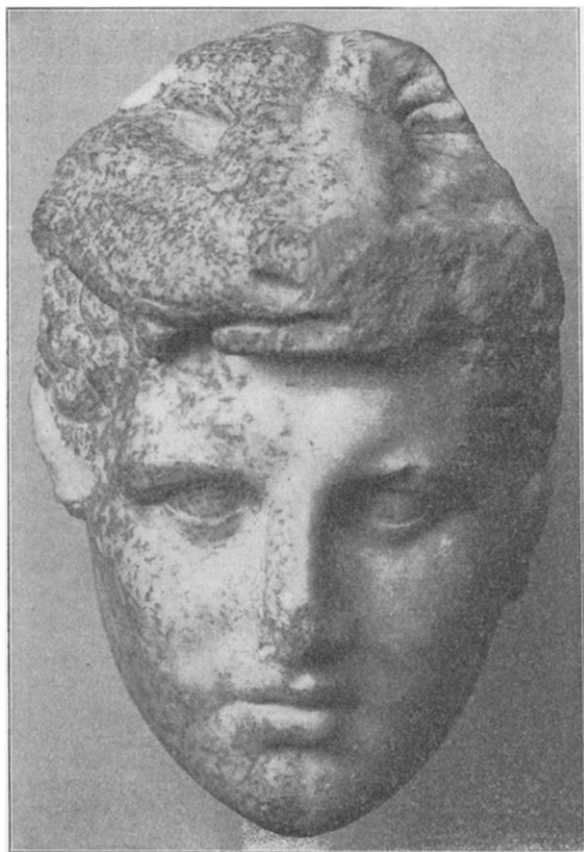


FIGURE 1.—MARBLE HEAD FROM SPARTA

have been discovered in or near Sparta in 1904 (Fig. 1). It was recently in Philadelphia, and was later temporarily in the possession of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

This head has been published by my colleague, Professor William N. Bates, in the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY*.¹ Of its style he says (p. 156): "The points of resemblance which the Philadelphia Heracles bears to the heads from the Tegean pediments are so many and so striking that they must all be traced back to the same sculptor; and that he was Scopas there can be little doubt." He therefore concludes that it is (p. 157) "probably a very good copy of a lost work of Scopas."

More recently, Dr. L. D. Caskey, of the Museum in Boston, has found these resemblances hardly close enough, in view of the influence of Scopas on later Greek sculpture, to justify so definite an attribution.² He finds them confined to the upper part of the face, while he believes that the lower portion resembles heads which can be assigned to Praxiteles or his influence, and so pronounces the head "an eclectic work in which features borrowed from Scopas and Praxiteles have been combined with an unusually successful effect."

As Dr. Bates points out, there is no recorded statue of Heracles by Scopas which corresponds with this head. The one mentioned by Pausanias (II, 10, 1), as standing in the gymnasium at Sicyon has been thought by the authors of the *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* to be reproduced on a Sicyonian copper coin of the age of Geta now in the British Museum.³ Many statues and busts scattered in European museums, representing a beardless Heracles and showing Scopaic influence, have been traced back to this original.⁴ However, the coin represents the hero wearing a wreath, and so, if it was copied from the original in the gymnasium, the latter could not be the prototype of the head under discussion.

It is now universally acknowledged that all constructive criticism of the art of Scopas must be based on a study of the heads found at Tegea. Besides those discovered in 1879 and now in the Central Museum in Athens, two other male heads (in addition to the torso of a female figure draped as an Amazon, and a head on the same scale which probably belongs to it, as both are in Parian marble) were discovered by M. Mendel in his excavations

¹ XIII, 1909, pp. 151-7; with pl. IV and figs. 1-3.

² *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, VIII, No. 46 (August, 1910), p. 26.

³ F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, p. 30.

⁴ Discussed by B. Graef, *Röm. Mitt.* IV, 1889, pp. 189-226; for the Sicyonian coin, *ibid.* pp. 212-14.

of the temple of Athena Alea in 1901 and referred to the pedimental groups described by Pausanias (VIII, 45, 6-7). As one of these is characterized by a lion's scalp worn as a helmet, the hero's face fitting into its jaws, its teeth showing above his forehead, it has been regarded as the head from a statue of Heracles, even though Pausanias mentions no such statue in his enumeration of the figures composing the group of the eastern pediment, and though it is difficult to explain the presence of the hero in the group of the western pediment, which represented the battle between his son Telephus and Achilles. Mendel considers this head to be inferior in workmanship to the others, and so refers it to the school of Scopas rather than to the master himself and so designates it "un travail d'atelier." In describing it, however, he says: "tous ces caractères, qui sont ceux des têtes du Musée central, se retrouvent dans nôtre tête d'Héraclès."¹ Here we have a head of a youthful Heracles (or of some hero who has borrowed his attribute of the lion's skin—perhaps Telephus himself), which, if not by Scopas himself, is still a work of his school reproducing all his characteristics; consequently, of all these heads from Tegea, it is with this one chiefly that we should compare the one from Sparta similarly covered with a lion's scalp.

Though badly injured, it is still possible to see in this head of Heracles found at Tegea, both in full view and in profile, the characteristic Scopaic expression of passion, and to discover the means by which the artist effected it. The expression is due in great measure to the upward direction of the gaze and to the heavy overshadowing of the deep-set eyes. It is further enhanced by the contracted brow, dilated nostril and half-open almost panting mouth, whose parted lips clearly disclose the teeth. The structure of the head is in keeping with the strength of character portrayed; the skull is very deep from front to back, and its framework is massive and bony; the face is broad and short and the chin is heavy; everything emphasizes the impression of a virile and muscular warrior violently engaged in the fray. The subjects of the two pedimental groups—the Calydonian boar hunt and the battle between Achilles and Telephus—justified the expression of unrestrained violence, which we see in this and

¹ *B.C.H.* XXV, 1901, pp. 258-9; with pls. VII-VIII. He follows Collignon in his characterization of this head: cf. *Hist. de la Sculpt. grecque*, II, p. 238. The head has been restored by a German sculptor, though the chin appears to have been made too retreating; see *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed. vol. XII, art. *Greek Art*, pl. III, fig. 63.

the other male heads, and gave the sculptor the opportunity to represent his heroes in the excitement of action and danger. To effect this intensity of mien Scopas relied mainly on the treatment of the eye and its surroundings. In one of the heads (the unhelmeted one in Athens) the gaze is not turned upwards as in the Heracles, nor are the neck muscles strained as in the others, and yet the expression is more violent than theirs. Thus it is the modelling of the flesh about the eye that is the real distinguishing feature of Scopas' work. In describing the helmeted head in Athens, E. Gardner says: "The eyes are set very deep in their sockets and heavily overshadowed, at their inner corners, by the strong projection of the brow, which does not, however, as in some later examples of a similar intention on the part of the artist, meet the line of the nose at an acute angle, but arches away from it in a bold curve. At the outer corners the eyes are also heavily overshadowed, here by a projecting mass of flesh or muscle which overhangs and actually hides in part the upper lid. The eyes are very wide-open—with a dilation which comes from fixing the eyes upon a distant object—and therefore suggest the far-away look associated with a passionate nature."¹

It is to such facial characteristics in the Tegean heads that Dr. Bates calls attention in basing his argument for the Scopaic origin of the head from Sparta; the forehead horizontally divided by a medial line, the swelling, prominent brow, the deep-set eyes with their narrow lids—only two mm. wide—embedded in the projecting flesh at the outer corners, and the parted mouth. He also sees a resemblance in the small round curls bunched together above the ears. But if there are resemblances (especially in the modelling of the eyes), there are also great differences observable in the Sparta head. Let us confine our comparison of it to the Heracles of the Tegean pediment, though the comparison with any of the other male heads would lead to substantially the same results.

In the first place the structure of the two heads in question is very different. As the head from Sparta is broken in two at the ears and the whole back part is missing, we cannot tell whether it had the great depth of that from Tegea. But of the massive bony framework of the latter there is little trace in the former. In the Tegean example we are struck with the squareness of the

¹ From his 'Atalanta of Tegea,' *J.H.S.* XXVI, 1906, pp. 172-3, quoted in part by Dr. Bates, *l. c.* pp. 155-6.

head and the breadth of the central part of the face; the sides do not gradually converge toward the middle but seem to form distinct planes. The distance between the eyes is also in keeping with the breadth of the skull as measured between the ears; the breadth of the face almost equals its length from the top of the forehead to the chin, and this fact, together with the massive prominent chin, gives an element of squareness to the whole.¹ On the other hand, the head from Sparta has a long, narrow face softly converging from the sides in beautiful curves about the cheeks; its cheekbones are not so high or so prominent as those of the other; it ends in a delicate, almost effeminate chin which slightly retreats and gives the whole lower part of the face an oval structure, thus recalling Praxiteles and fourth century Attic works. The length of the face is accentuated by the considerable height to which the head rises above the forehead, in contrast to the flatness of the skull in the example from Tegea. The eyes are not so widely open; they are longer and not so swollen, nor compressed toward the centre; if we view the two heads from the side, we see that the eye-socket in the Tegean head is larger and appreciably deeper than in the one from Sparta.

Apart from these surface differences in the structure of the head and face, it is in the resultant expression that we see the greatest divergence from the Scopaic type. This seems to me to be fundamentally different in the Sparta head. In the Heracles, as in all the other Tegean male heads, even in those of the boar and the dogs, the really characteristic feature which differentiates them from all other works of Greek sculpture, is the passionate intensity of their expression. The one unforgettable impression left on the spectator by them all is this expression of violent and unrestrained passion, which the sculptor has succeeded in imparting to the marble. This is what marks him as the master of passion and the originator of the dramatic tendencies carried to such lengths in the Hellenistic schools of sculpture; it is this which explains Callistratus' characterization of his works as

¹ It was chiefly the preponderance of the lower part of the face over the upper in consequence of the large chin and strongly marked cheekbones that led Treu to predicate Peloponnesian rather than Attic influence in the Tegean heads: *Ath. Mitt.* VI, 1881, pp. 407-8. He found them Polyclitan in character, as also Graef, *l. c.* p. 210, Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 516 and 523, and Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculp. gr.* II, p. 238. L. R. Farnell, however, combatted this theory of Peloponnesian influence, and found analogies in fifth century Attic works of the time of Pheidias, as well as in works from the beginning of the fourth century; see *J.H.S.* VII, 1886, p. 114 f.

being *κάτοχα καὶ μεστὰ μανίας*.¹ The head from Sparta shows little trace of this intensity. Notwithstanding the similar upward gaze and slightly parted lips, the intention of the artist seems to have been to portray the hero in an attitude of expectancy, tempered by a look of calmness. The look is deeply earnest but not violent; it is even mournful. It is this last feature, the delicate and compelling melancholy of the face, which impressed me most on first viewing it. This is further enhanced by the full, soft modelling of the lower face, that gives to the whole a delicate, almost effeminate character, which strongly reminds us of Praxitelean heads. In fact, the shape of the lips and the modelling of the flesh on either side of the mouth, together with the soft dimpled chin, have little in common with the massive strength and remarkable animation of the Tegean heads. As Dr. Caskey has intimated, if we had only the lower portion of the face for comparison, we should be inclined to ascribe it to the influence of Praxiteles. If we consider the upper part only, resemblances to Scopaic work seem well marked; but if we take into account the expression of the face as a whole, we see it lacks the most essential of Scopaic features, the look of passionate intensity. Consequently we shall find it difficult to bring the head into such close relation with that artist; for here there is little analogy with the vigorous warrior types of the Tegean pediments. For calmness of mien it would be better to compare it with the head of Atalanta,² though none of the gentle pathos of the Sparta head is there visible. The Atalanta, though full of vigorous life, utterly lacks the unrestrained passion so characteristic of her brothers; her eyes are not so deeply set, nor so widely open; they are narrower and longer and are not overhung at the outer corners by such masses of flesh.³ In speak-

¹ *Descriptiones Stat.* B (in *Philostrati opera*, ed. Kayser, p. 891). He also says (*ibid.*) that Scopas *ὥσπερ ἐκ τινος ἐπιπνοίας κινήσει, εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀγάλματος δημιουργίαν τὴν θεοφορίαν ἐφήκε*. The words with which Diodorus (Frag. 1, XXVI) characterized Praxiteles as *ὁ καταμύξας ἄκρως τοῖς λιθίνοις ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη* apply much better to Scopas, for Praxiteles' "emotions of the soul" are mood and temperament rather than emotion and passion.

² *B.C.H.* XXV, 1901, pls. IV-V.

³ The same overhanging masses of flesh, which we see in the male heads, are, however, visible in several other female heads attributed to Scopas; e. g., in the colossal Artemisia from the pediment of the Mausoleum, in the head of Aphrodite found in the sea off Laurium, in the head found south of the Acropolis (and in the copy of it in Berlin), and in the Dresden statuette of the Maenad. They are also plainly visible in the Demeter of Cnidus.

ing of the absence of these rolls of muscle, E. Gardner notes a curious peculiarity: "This is a clearly marked, though delicately rounded, roll of flesh between the brow and the upper eyelid, which is continued right round above the inner corner of the eye, to join the swelling at the side of the nose, which itself passes on into the cheek."¹ He detects this same peculiarity in certain other Scopaic heads, as in the Apollo from the Mausoleum and the Demeter from Cnidus, though it is quite lacking in the Tegean male heads. It all goes to show that Scopas was not strictly consistent in his treatment of the eye. The lower face of the Atalanta is also longer and more oval, and thus shows Attic rather than Peloponnesian influence. If it is difficult, then, to conceive of the Atalanta and the male heads as the work of the same sculptor, the contrast between these two heads of Heracles, both in structure and expression, makes it more difficult to assume the same authorship for both; for here we cannot explain the difference as the contrast between the types of hero and heroine; here we are comparing two heads which are supposedly of the same hero.

In view, then, of these differences enumerated, I should hesitate to assign a Scopaic origin to the Heracles from Sparta. In the

¹ *J.H.S.* XXVI, 1906, p. 174. Gardner (*ibid.*) does not explain this contrast in expression between Atalanta and the surrounding heroes on the analogy of the contrast in the calmness of Apollo among the struggling Lapiths from the Olympia pediment, since the action of Atalanta's torso shows she was no mere spectator. He finds the explanation rather in the sex and youth of the heroine; and for this reason he thinks that the sculptor did not represent her as sharing equally with the others the passion of the combat. He finds a truer analogy in the contrast between calm and passion in the Lapiths and Centaurs of the Parthenon metopes, where the human and bestial are thus distinguished; just so the heroine-goddess is here distinguished from her human companions. He also supposes that Scopas was not ready thus early in his career (just after 395 B.C., when the temple of Athena Alea was destroyed by fire) to apply his new extreme of expression to female heads. However, it must not be overlooked that these male heads—because of their marked individuality—presuppose a more mature genius and so can just as well be assigned to the period of the Arcadian revival of 370 B.C. It has recently been seriously disputed whether the Atalanta should be assigned at all to the eastern pediment where the French excavators placed it: thus Cultrera has looked upon it as an acroterium figure, while Thiersch and Neugebauer have identified it with a single figure representing a Nike. See Cultrera, *Atti. dell' Acad. dei Lincei*, 1910, p. 22 f.; H. Thiersch, *Zum Problem des Tegeatempels*, *Jb. Arch. I.* XXVIII, 1913, p. 270; Neugebauer, *Studien über Skopas*, Leipsic, 1913; the latter has argued that the head and torso do not belong together, while Degas has recently maintained the older view in *Rev. de l'art anc. et mod.* 1911, p. 9.

lower part of the face, with its small mouth and delicate chin, I see signs only of Praxitelean influence; in the upper part I am much more inclined to see affinities to the art tendencies of Lysippus as we now know them from the statue of Agias discovered at Delphi. In the present state of our knowledge it is not difficult to separate works of Praxitelean origin from those of Scopas; but it is a very different thing to distinguish those of Scopas from those of Lysippus; here the line distinguishing the two masters is much finer and harder to draw. Before the discovery of the Tegean heads, the deep-set eye, prominent brow and "breathing" mouth were looked upon as characteristic features of Lysippus, as they were known to us from representations of Alexander, especially on coins. We now know that these traits belong to Scopas to an even greater degree. When the Agias was found and before its true authorship had been determined, Homolle had seen in it and in all the group of statues to which it belongs more of Scopas than of Lysippus.¹ So long as we looked upon the head of the Apoxyomenus as representing the true characteristics of Lysippan art, such a conclusion was natural. By assigning these traits definitely to Scopas, we were compelled to look upon the work of Lysippus as conventional and lifeless in comparison; but with the discovery that the Agias was really the work of Lysippus, all was changed. It was recognized that these same traits were quite as characteristic of Lysippus as of Scopas; it was seen that the same artist could not have fashioned the Agias and the Apoxyomenus; that despite certain striking resemblances in pose, slenderness of body and limbs, and smallness of the head, the differences were too great to assign them to the same sculptor.² A study of the Agias and allied works—*e.g.*, the Landsdowne Heracles, the Vatican Meleager, the athlete on the stele from the Ilissus in Athens³—shows that the style of

¹ *B.C.H.* XXI, 1897, p. 598.

² Cf. P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, pp. 130-1; more fully *ibid.* XXV, 1905, pp. 234 f.

³ I expressed the opinion that these and allied sculptures should be referred to Lysippus rather than to Scopas in 1902 in my *De Olymp. Stat.* p. 28. Michaelis had long before recognized the Lysippan origin of the Landsdowne Heracles; *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 451. P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, p. 128, regards it as "definitely a Lysippic work," as also the Meleager head, though he does not find it similar to that of the Agias. E. Gardner still believes it is Scopas; *Six Greek Sculptors*, pp. 198-9.

Lysippus has much in common with that of Scopas. Though Lysippus is said to have recognized only nature as his master,¹ it has become clear that, great and individual sculptor though he was, he also owed much to the influence of his elder contemporary. Hence, in studying later works it is difficult to analyze the common influences of these two great masters.²

We saw that it was chiefly the formation of the eye and its surroundings that characterized Scopaic work—the depth of the balls in their sockets and the heavy masses of flesh above the outer corners. This was in harmony with the breadth of brow and the massive build of the Tegean heads. In the Agias³ and similar works the treatment of the eye is somewhat different. The head of the Agias is of slighter proportions than the heads from Tegea; in conformity with the Lysippan canon⁴ it is below life size; consequently it has no such heavy overshadowing of the outer corners. The formation of the eye is thus described by E. Gardner: “The inner corners of the eye are set very deep in the head and very close together; the inner corners of the eye-sockets form acute angles, running up close to one another and leaving between them only a narrow ridge for the base of the nose; thus they offer a strong contrast to the line of the brow, arching away in a broad curve from the solid base of the nose and forming an obtuse angle with it, such as we see in the Scopaic heads.”⁵ The resultant expression is therefore somewhat different; we still see animation and even intensity in the face of the Agias, but in a modified degree. The far-away look of the Tegean heads is present, but it appears to be fixed on a nearer object, and so the look of intensity is tempered; it is also lightened by the less heavy overshadowing of the eyes at the outer corners. But even this latter so-called Scopaic trait is present in other Lysippan heads. Besides appearing prominently in representations of

¹ Pliny, *N.H.* XXXIV, 61.

² On the relation of Scopas to Lysippus, see P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, pp. 126 f.; cf. E. Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors*, p. 198; cf. also Hyde, *A.J.A.* XI, 1907, p. 410, where this influence—especially observable in Lysippus’ treatment of forehead and eyes and the consequent intensity of expression—is characterized not as that of master on pupil, but mutual, of one great contemporary artist on another.

³ For the head of the Agias, see *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. LXIV.

⁴ Pliny *N.H.* XXIV, 62: “Capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque per quae proceritas signorum major videretur.”

⁵ *Six Greek Sculptors*, p. 219.

Alexander the Great on coins,¹ it is seen in busts of the conqueror, especially in the splendid one from Alexandria in the British Museum.² In this example we see just such heavy rolls of flesh as in the Scopas heads. It shows that this trait, introduced by Scopas, was used at times with equal effect by Lysippus. We have already noted how in one example, at least, Scopas himself laid it aside—in the Atalanta. Its presence on Lysippan heads shows that too much stress cannot be laid on this feature in deciding whether a given piece of sculpture is to be referred to Scopas. This complicates the whole problem of the style of the two masters.

The Agias is considered by most critics to be a copy³ (though almost contemporaneous and under the actual supervision of the artist) of the bronze original by Lysippus set up by Daochos in honor of his ancestor at his home town of Pharsalus in Thessaly. Perhaps it will be more just, therefore, to compare the head from Sparta with another marble head found at Olympia, which, because of its striking resemblances in detail to the head of the Agias, I have argued is an original work of Lysippus.⁴ The comparison will be fairer, also, because the Olympia head has been generally looked upon as a youthful Heracles on account of its lion's scalp. It was at first ascribed with great unanimity to Praxitelean influence. Thus Treu, who first published it, pointed out its relationship with the Hermes in respect of its proportions, the shape of the cranium and forehead, and the form of the

¹ *E.g.* cf. P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, XII, 16.

² Pl. LXIX in *Six Greek Sculptors*. Gardner is doubtless right in believing that this form of brow was a personal peculiarity of Alexander, as it recurs so often in his portraits. It is seen in the head of Alexander on the sarcophagus from Sidon (either by a pupil of Lysippus or by some sculptor under his influence), the reliefs from which portray the same subject as the bronze group by Lysippus in Delphi mentioned by Pliny *N.H.* XXXIV, 64, and described by Plutarch, *Vita Alex. Magni*, 40; see Hamdy-Bey et S. Reinach, *Nécropole Royale à Sidon*, pl. XXXIII. So far as I know, it occurs in Lysippan work to a prominent degree only in likenesses of Alexander. We know Lysippus set the Alexander type of head, as he alone could reproduce his manly and leonine air. (cf. Plut. *De Alex. M. fortuna aut virtute, oratio* II, 2, p. 335). It is, to a less extent, present in the Azara head in the Louvre, which owing to its likeness to the head of the Apoxyomenus, used to be taken as the nearest copy of the original by Lysippus.

³ So Preuner, *Ein delphisches Weihgeschenck* (1900); Homolle, *B.C.H.* XXIII, 1899, p. 459; P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, p. 127.

⁴ *A.J.A.* XI, 1907, No. 4, pp. 396–416, figs. 3 and 4. I maintained that the Agias was a marble original and not a copy; *ibid.* pp. 414–16.

cheeks and mouth; the differences—the deeper cut and more widely opened eyes with their γοργόν expression, the treatment of the hair, and the fact that the whole head is harder and leaner than that of the Hermes—he explained on the assumption that it belonged to the statue of a pancratiast.¹ Later, as the Tegean heads became more accurately known, it was referred with almost equal unanimity to Scopaic influence.² Even Treu later found it more Scopaic than Praxitelean, and yet, by a careful analysis,³ conclusively showed that the formation of the eyes, the opening of the mouth, and the treatment of the hair were so different in the heads from Tegea (especially in that of the Heracles) as to preclude the possibility of assigning them and the head from Olympia to the same sculptor. He declared, therefore, for some independent artist among the contemporaries of Scopas, but he did not see Lysippus in this allied but independent sculptor, though he admitted the resemblance of the head in question to that of the Agias, as did Homolle,⁴ Mahler,⁵ and other critics. In the article mentioned, I have given a detailed comparison of this head with that of the Agias, and proved its Lysippan character, and shown that it can be referred to the statue of the Acarnanian boxer mentioned by Pausanias (VI, 2, 1), whose name I restored as Philandridas.⁶

If we compare, then, the head from Sparta with this head by Lysippus, we shall find that despite certain differences, there are marked resemblances between them. Let us examine these resemblances in detail; we shall see that they are confined to the upper part of the face.

In the Philandridas we note the same low forehead with a corresponding depression or crease across its middle; the similarly bulging brow which breaks very perceptibly the continuous line from forehead to nose, concave above and below and convex at the swelling itself; the same powerfully framed and deep-set eyes

¹ A.Z. 1880, p. 114 and *Ausgr. v. Ol.* V, 1881, pp. 13–14, with pl. XX. Others have also seen sure signs of Praxitelean influence in it; e.g. Bötticher, *Olympia*, p. 343; Laloux et Monceaux, *Restauration d'Olympie*, p. 137; Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. *Heracles*, p. 2166.

² E.g. Graef, *Röm. Mitt.* IV, 1889, p. 217; von Sybel, in *Lützows Zeitschr.* N.F. II, pp. 253 f.

³ In *Ergebnisse von Ol.* III (*Bildwerke*), pp. 208–9 and Taf. LIV, 3–4 (front and three-fourths view); a complete bibliography is given in this article.

⁴ *B.C.H.* XXIII, 1899, p. 456.

⁵ *Polyklet und seine Schule*, p. 149.

⁶ In *De Olymp. Stat.*, p. 25–6, where I first discussed its Lysippan origin.

thrown into shadows by the projecting bony structure of the brows and the overhanging masses of flesh. The eyeballs are likewise long and narrow, though slightly arched, as in the Tegean heads; they are not so close together as in the Agias, but their inner angles are farther apart and not almost hidden by the flat bridge of the nose when viewed straight from the front; in this respect they are strikingly like those of the Sparta head.¹ Their raised upper lids form symmetrically narrow and sharply defined borders over the eyeballs; these borders, like those in the Sparta head, are not partially hidden by the folds of skin at the outer corners, as is the case in the Tegean heads; and yet the masses of flesh projecting from the brow are almost as heavy as in the latter. In both the heads from Olympia and Sparta the upper lids slightly overlap the under at the outer corners. The eye-sockets in both seem to be equally deep and the cheek bones similarly high and prominent. We also remark in the Philandridas the gradual converging of the sides of the face toward the middle, a trait which we have already observed in the head from Sparta as in contrast to the more angular formation with lateral planes so characteristic of the Tegean heads. The flatness of the nose and the curves which it makes with the brow on either side are very similar in the two heads under discussion. In both the hair is treated in the same simple and sketchy manner, being fashioned into little ringlets ruffed back from the temples in flat relief quite in the Scopaeic manner, though the curls seem shorter and more tense.

When we come to a consideration of the lower part of the face, we immediately detect differences. Though both heads end in an oval, this is broader, heavier, and more bony in that of the Philandridas, as we should expect in the case of a more mature man. Consequently the mouth is larger and firmer. The elegant contour of the lips observable in the Agias—and, to a less degree, in the head from Sparta, where they are fuller and more sensuous—cannot be traced in the Philandridas owing to their damaged condition; it is clear, however, that they were also slightly parted, just showing the teeth, but not as in the Tegean heads, as if the breath were being forced through them with great effort.

It is, however, in the expression of these two faces that we see the greatest resemblance. In the Philandridas, the powerful

¹ It will be observed that the axis of the right eye droops slightly—the result of imperfect skill in modelling.

framing of the eyes, the slightly upward gaze of the balls, and the contracted forehead combine to give it a pensive even melancholy look of heroic dignity, a look seemingly of one who takes no joy or pleasure in victory, though it is earnest rather than profoundly mournful. The almost identical treatment of the eye and its surroundings gives the still more youthful head from Sparta a similar expression. Homolle's analysis of the expression of the face of the Agias would apply with equal fitness to the mood portrayed in both the heads we are discussing: "L'expression qui résulte de ces divers traits, c'est, dans une figure jeune et vigoureuse, un air pensif ou lassé, une certaine mélancolie, qui ne va pas à la tristesse morne ou à la méditation profonde, mais qui reste plus loin encore de la joie insouciant de la vie et de la pure allégresse de la victoire."¹ Preuner remarked that a verse of the epigram found on the vase of the statue of Agias and running "καὶ ὧν οὐδὲς πω στήσε τροπαῖα χερῶν" is almost an exact copy of the words of Heracles in the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles.² In these words the dedicator of the statue terminates the recital of his ancestor's exploits with a melancholy reflection on the vanity of his glory. They suggest with no less truth the expression of both the heads we are discussing. This expression of pensiveness tinged with melancholy is enhanced in both by the slightly parted lips. We can see the same expression carried much further in many of the portraits of Alexander which go back to originals by Lysippus, and we know from Plutarch that this sculptor was chosen by the conqueror to make his portraits because Lysippus alone could combine his manly air with the liquid and melting glance of his eyes.³ But how different is the delicately indicated pathos of these heads from the violent and unrestrained, even panting, expression of the Tegean sculptures! Here there is no trace of the *μανία* which ancient critics said characterized the works of Scopas. If it be objected that the expression of the Philandridas is more dramatic than that of the head from Sparta, its fierce, almost barbarous, look of defiance may well be explained by the fact that here is represented a victor from Acarnania, a country noted among the other Greek states for anything but culture and refinement.

¹ *B.C.H.* XXIII, 1899, p. 455.

² V. 1102:—"κοῦδὲς τροπαῖ' ἔστησε τῶν ἐμῶν χερῶν."

³ In the passage already cited: . . . καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων τὴν διάχυσιν καὶ ὑγρότητα, κ. τ. λ.; cf. also his *Vita Alex. Magni*, 4, p. 666.

It is, then, in consequence of these resemblances to Lysippan work, and because of the differences between it and the Tegean heads, that I am led to see more of Lysippus than of Scopas in this beautiful head from Sparta. An analysis of its style permits us to discover in it the mixed influences of Praxiteles, of Lysippus, and of Scopas. It seems to me safer, therefore, in view of this mixture of art tendencies, to regard it as an eclectic work in which the unknown artist has combined Lysippan and Praxitelean elements chiefly; that he was also under the influence of Scopas is evidenced by the peculiarities mentioned in the treatment of the eyes and hair;¹ but even in the modelling of the eyes, I believe his chief debt was to Lysippus. The fineness of surface modelling, commented on by both Dr. Bates and Dr. Caskey, recalls the delicacy of execution in detail which is mentioned by Pliny as characteristic of Lysippan art.² It surely points to a date for the work not later than the end of the century made glorious in the history of sculpture by these three great masters.

In the preceding account I have assumed with Dr. Bates that the head from Sparta represents a beardless Heracles. But, as Dr. Caskey remarks, one might hesitate to accept the identification as a Heracles, if it were not for the attribute of the lion's skin above the forehead, for here there is little indication of the strength so characteristic of later representations of the hero. Dr. Caskey, however, observes that the Heracles head, now in the British Museum, which some have regarded as an original by Praxiteles, is even more boyish than this one. We know from Pausanias (IV, 32, 1) that images of Heracles, as well as those of Hermes and Theseus, were placed in all Greek gymnasiums and palaestras. In his history of the Olympic games, the same author mentions the mythical victories of Heracles in wrestling and the pancratium.³ In one place (V, 21, 10), in connection with the

¹ The hair of the head from Sparta, like that of the Agias and the Philandridas, has not so much expression as is displayed in some Lysippan heads (notably in portraits of Alexander), nor the nicety of detail we should expect from Pliny's statement that Lysippus excelled in his treatment of hair (*N.H.* XXXIV, 65). But the Agias and the Philandridas represent pancratiasts, and here we should not expect such expression. In the Agias, even if lacking in detail, the hair is treated carefully and with great variety.

² *N.H.* XXXIV, 65: "propriae huius videntur esse argutiae operum custoditae in minimis quoque rebus." Here "argutiae" means "subtlety" rather than "animation," as given in Harper's Latin Dictionary.

³ V, 8, 4, cf. V, 7, 7 and VIII, 48, 1. Heracles was the great wrestler; his contests with giants are frequently mentioned by Pausanias, as *e.g.*, with Achelous, III, 18, 16; with Eryx, III, 16, 4 and IV, 36, 4; with Antaeus, IX, 11, 6.

victory of Strato of Alexandria, who won in the pancratium and in wrestling on the same day (in Ol. 178 = 68 A.D.), he says three men before and three men after this victor won prizes in these two events on the same day. He gives their names, and Africanus records their dates.¹ Thus to win the crown of wild olive for both these events was regarded as a high honor; in the lists of victors a special note was made of the men who thus won, and they were designated as *πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος κ. τ. λ. ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους*.² This is the reason why his statues were so popular among athletes, and why they decorated their gymnasiums and wrestling schools with them. It is quite possible that the head from Sparta was from one of these ornamental statues.³

However, for the same reasons, statues of athletes at Olympia and elsewhere were often more or less assimilated to those of the hero, especially those of wrestlers and pancratiasts. Thus the head from Olympia, which has generally been looked upon as that of Heracles, is really that of a pancratiast. To quote the words of Homolle (from his discussion of the Agias): "maintes fois, comme pour la tête d'Olympie comme pour plusieurs autres encore, on peut se demander si le personnage représenté est le héros lui-même sous les traits d'un athlète ou un athlète fait à l'image du héros."⁴ In the case of the Agias the artist plainly wished to raise the victor to the ideal height of the type of the hero; the same

¹ His lists of Olympic victors, *Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφή*, are preserved in Eusebius, *Chron.* I, pp. 194-220 (ed. Schöne), and have been separately edited by I. Rutgers, Leyden, 1862.

² These "Heracles" athletes were numbered in two ways; some writers, *e.g.* Dio Cassius, LXXIX, 10, numbered them as above, while others, *e.g.*, Africanus and Pausanias, numbered them *δευτερος, τρίτος κ. τ. λ. ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους*; cf. Rutgers, *op. cit.* p. 73, and note 1; p. 97, n. 2.

³ Pausanias mentions only three statues of Heracles in Sparta, to any of which it seems futile to try to refer the head under discussion; in III, 14, 6, he speaks of an *ἄγαλμα ἀρχαίων* to which the *Sphaerians*, *i.e.*, lads entering on manhood, sacrifice, as standing in the *Δρόμος* outside the city walls; in the same book, 14, 8, he says an image of the hero stood at the end of one of the two bridges across the moat to "Plane Tree Grove," *i.e.*, the boys' exercise ground; and in 15, 3 he says an *ἄγαλμα ὀπλισμένον* of Heracles stood in the Heracleum close to the city wall, whose attitude (*σχῆμα*) was suggested by the battle between the hero and Hippocoon and his sons. The same writer enumerates only three other statues of Heracles in Laconia: One of these was in the market-place of Gythium (III, 21, 8), another in Las beyond Gythium (III, 24, 6), and the third was on Mt. Parnon near the boundaries of Argolis, Laconia, and Tegea (III, 10, 6).

⁴ *B.C.H.* XXIII, 1899, p. 455.

idealizing tendency is visible in the Philandridas also.¹ In both these heads the ears, though small, are battered and swollen; what is left of the ears in the head from Sparta is so badly damaged that we cannot tell whether they were swollen or not; but even if they were preserved and were in that condition, they would be of little use in determining whether the head belonged to a statue of a victor or of Heracles. For as Reisch² and others have pointed out, though swollen ears may have been a characteristic mark of the boxer in early times,³ they later served as well to characterize pancratiasts and even athletes in general.⁴ The boxer would be distinguished sufficiently (if at all) by his thongs, which would be either twined around his arm or held in his hand.⁵ Thus the ears had no personal character, but only a professional one common to athletes, warriors, and even gods and heroes, if these latter had practised gymnastic exercises.⁶ It follows that where personal characteristics are wanting, it is often difficult to determine whether a given statue represents Heracles or an athlete in the hero's guise. It was not surprising, therefore, that many regarded the head from Olympia as that of a young Heracles; but apart from all considerations of identifying it with the statue of Philandridas which Pausanias says was fashioned by Lysippus, if it be compared with another Lysippan head from a statue universally recognized as that of a Heracles—the famous one in Landsdowne House—we can see at once how fundamentally different is the whole spiritual conception of the two, and how

¹ I might add that such an idealizing tendency should be carefully distinguished from the deification of mortals which came into prominence after the time of Alexander. The fact that a victor wanted his statue to be more or less assimilated to the ideal type of the hero whom he regarded as his athletic prototype and ideal does not mean that he had any idea of looking upon himself as a god.

² *Griechische Weihgeschenke* (1890, pp. 42–3): Homolle, *l.c.* p. 455.

³ *E.g.* in the head in Copenhagen; *Monuments grecs*, VI, 1877, pl. I.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 515 E, and *Protag.* 342 B.

⁵ Thus the thongs are wound around the arm of the statue in the Palazzo Albani; *Matz-Duhn*, No. 1096; they were held in the hand of the statue of Acusilaus (cf. Paus. VI, 7, 1), as we learn from the scholiast to Pindar's *Ol.* VII, p. 156 B; in the case of the "Apollo" Choiseul-Gouffier (really a victor statue, cf. *J.H.S.* I. p. 180), they are laid on a neighboring prop.

⁶ Both the Borghese warrior and Munich Diomedes have swollen ears; also statues of Ares (cf. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 124), Heracles (cf. Winckelmann, *Kunstgesch.* V, 5, 35), the Dioscuri and others are represented in this manner.

differently an athlete, even when highly idealized, and a hero are treated by the same sculptor. Because of these considerations and the resemblance in expression between the Philandridas and the head from Sparta, I am inclined to believe that the latter, instead of being a representation of a youthful Heracles, is really the idealized portrait of an athlete, probably that of a boy victor, either in the boxing or wrestling match,¹ assimilated in form to that of the hero.²

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¹ This would explain the simple, even sketchy, treatment of the closely cropped hair, just as in the Agias and the Philandridas. The similarly parted lips of the Spartan head are certainly more appropriate to an athlete represented as weary with his toil than to a youthful Heracles.

The head appears to me to be that of a boy of about sixteen years; its style is too early for a victor in the boys' pancratium, as this event was not introduced at Olympia until the 145th Olympiad (=200 B.C.); see Paus. V, 8, 11. The wrestling match for boys was introduced in Ol. 37 (=632 B.C.); see Paus. V, 8, 9. (though Philostratus, *de arte gymnastica*, 12, says Ol. 46); boys were first allowed to box in Ol. 41 (=616 B.C.); see Paus. *ibid.* (though Philostratus, *op. cit.* 13, says in Ol. 60).

² We have literary record of only one statue of a victor set up in Sparta, that of the wrestler Hetoemocles, who won at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.; see Paus. III, 13, 9, and cf. Hyde, *Greek Literary Notices of Olympic Victor Monuments Outside Olympia*, in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XLII (1912), p. 54, n. 3.